

Will Rank High in Poland's Hall of Fame

OF THE Garibaldi of Poland, General Pilsudski, the world of late has heard much; of the man himself little. Yet Pilsudski, in the opinion of critical observers, will rank on Poland's scroll of honor next to the name of Kosciuszko.

Of the man himself, and of the men who surround him, their parts and their policies, this article proposes to treat.

Sir Thomas Barclay, an English writer who observed him closely, describes Pilsudski thus: "He has rather sad eyes. His drooping eyebrows, drooping mustache, and lank hair add their touch of melancholy to a face which reminds one of his country, of the vigor of its history compared with its languid scenery, the energy of its dances compared with the wail of the accompanying music—a country of extremes and contrasts."

Pilsudski, like Daszynski of whom more will be said later, is a Polish nobleman by birth. He was born during the insurrection of 1863 and was educated at Vilna and the University of Cracow. But in Pilsudski nationalism came before class interests and as long as 30 years ago he turned to socialism as the only force capable of freeing Poland from foreign oppression. Thus everyone concedes Pilsudski to be an honest patriot, working as he always has worked unselfishly for his country. He has become a moderate type of Socialist, on the type of Briand of France.

But in those earlier years he was Socialist enough to be expelled from Cracow and returning to Vilna he was arrested in 1887 and condemned to five years in Siberia simply because his name and address were found in the pocketbook of somebody who had been arrested on suspicion of complicity in a conspiracy against the czar.

When he returned from exile he lived at Lodz, and became a leader of the Polish Socialist party, whose object was the emancipation of Poland from Russia. Thus are revolutionaries made!

Lodz became the center and Pilsudski the leader of the movement. Here he issued the famous "Robotnik" (the Workman), for which the Russian police searched for years—and ultimately found in Pilsudski's house. He was placed in the Warsaw citadel.

Then enters a story born only in revolutionary circles. Pilsudski pretended to be insane and so got himself removed to the Petrograd Military Asylum. The Polish Socialist party set its wires to work and contrived to place one of their own members, a doctor, in the asylum.

And one night the two disappeared.

Pilsudski, even then, had adopted a definite policy. He believed Poland could be freed only by force. So when the czar sought to placate the Polish peasants by emancipating them from serfdom, Pilsudski kept them stirred up to more liberal and wholesale demands. His policy demanded an army, and at every opportunity he sought to create one. He tried to organize a Polish legion to help Japan in the war with Russia, but the plan fell through. At last, however, he overcame objection in his own party and the first Rifle Exercise Corps was formed in Galicia in 1908. The corps grew rapidly, and Pilsudski set himself to the study of warfare and strategy, working up a war chest, co-operating with the various corps and keeping everyone up to scratch ready for events.

In January, 1914, Pilsudski smelled a war between Russia and Austria, and planned on selling Polish help, through his corps, in return for emancipation.



GENERAL PILSUDSKI

But the situation was beyond him, and no one would listen.

Pilsudski wanted a free Poland and was willing to fight with any one for it. So he became the ally of Germany against Russia, fought brilliantly as a brigadier-general with his corps, and the Germans took the place of the Russians in Poland. The Central Powers declared Poland independent and suggested to Pilsudski that an army of Poles be formed to fight for the Central Powers. Pilsudski replied that he was willing to create an army to fight for Poland, but for no one else. The Germans arrested Pilsudski and the whole of Poland turned against the Germans.

While Pilsudski was confined in Magdeburg, his work went merrily on through able lieutenants, so that when the German revolution brought about his release, he was welcomed as a national hero, and was appointed "Chief of the State."

This is the man who is leading Poland, and this brings us to the point of Poland's emancipation, and the men who are maintaining it.

The Polish Socialist party makes a creed of placing country before party, and so, when Polish freedom seemed imminent, and it appeared that Paderewski

could accomplish the work effectively, all opposition on party grounds was withdrawn. Paderewski's tenure was brief. In January, 1919, a general election was held and the parliament now consists of 410 members, the peasants' factions together totaling 121. The parliament in turn has delegated the executive power to a president who is elected by the majority vote of the parliament. The president (Pilsudski) performs his duties with the aid of a cabinet which is dependent for its continuation in office on the support of parliament.

The Polish parties and their parliamentary membership are as follows: Socialists, 35; National Workmen, 43; National Democrats, 71; National Popular Alliance, 71; Conservatives, 18; Burghers, 13; Jewish Zionists, 10; Independents, 7; Catholics, 5; Germans, 2. The few additional deputies are scattered. Nine deputies are women.

In external affairs, the peasants, Socialists and National Workmen, usually work together in external affairs, while in internal affairs the peasants are often found with the Nationalist groups.

Paderewski passed on his office to Skulski, who belongs to the National Democrats of the Right; he was able to hold power because the peasants supported him and Witos, the leader of the peasants, had two members in the cabinet who pushed through land reform measures. The Skulski cabinet lost ground and peasant dissatisfaction with the government led Witos to draw away from the Coalition, thus weakening it so that it collapsed.

Pilsudski asked Witos to form a cabinet, and was refused. Meantime the Bolshevik menace was growing on the frontier. Skulski tried again but, the Center (Witos) and Left refusing to support him, failed. Brejski, leader of National Labor party, tried and failed. Grabski succeeded in forming a cabinet, in the face of bitter opposition from the peasants, and, in the face of the urgency of the situation created by the Bolshevik advance, was forced to withdraw.

With the fall of Rovno, Grabski went, and Witos, at last, came in. Thus a peasant is Poland's premier. It is necessary to distinguish between landowning peasants and poor peasants in Poland. Witos is one of the former. Hence he and his party (Center) are nationalists, and even imperialists. Hence, also, their interests are at one with those of the nobles, whose lands however are much curtailed under the new laws. But the important thing is that the most powerful party and the most powerful men in Poland today are distinctly national figures, to whom party takes always second place.

M. Daszynski, mentioned earlier as of noble birth, also is a lifelong Socialist, his radicalism modified by experience. His leadership certainly brought down the Grabski cabinet, which he declared to be wholly conservative, and thus paved the way for the peasant effort. He made a great argument of the Russian peasants fighting against Polish lords, and said the then government could speak only in the name of "princes, lords, big landowners owning estates in White Russia." He is vice premier. Witos recognizing the need of unity, both to Poland itself, and before the world, invited Grabski, a most experienced financier, to take up again the portfolio of finance, which he did, and Skulski himself has become minister of the interior.

Thus every figure except one, Paderewski, who has played a big rôle in the renaissance of Poland, has been brought into a common fold under peasant leadership, but held to the line of common effort by Pilsudski.

GERMANY today is almost as much a prison for its inhabitants as it was in the days of the war, when the navies of four nations and the armies of nearly a score inclosed it in an iron ring. The bars of the cage are not rigid, but few can escape.

With the defeat of the Central Empires came the prediction that millions would migrate from the beaten, tax-ridden, disorganized country and find new fields for their industry and energy. Though tens of thousands are anxious to leave the German fatherland, the expected flood of immigration has not materialized and only a handful of Germans has fared forth.

The main factors in this are comparatively few. The former enemy countries are unwilling to receive their foemen, the neutral countries are crowded, the shipping situation is such that it is all but impossible to get passage and passage is very high priced. In every move beyond his borders, the German is hampered by the adverse rate of exchange caused by the depreciated mark, which makes a small fortune necessary to have even an ordinary stake abroad. Russia, the freest field, is in such chaos and imposes such conditions that Germans in general hesitate to become settlers there.

Almost as soon as the armistice was signed, the Germans began to consider immigration. The urge was very strong. Industrially the country was in a bad way, the prospect of heavy indemnities made the most severe taxes certain, and food shortage even then seemed likely to become more acute. With the signing of the Peace Treaty, these things had become facts, with the added strong probability that Germany would not for years be able to support her entire population. Then the efforts at emigration became more strenuous.

The first goal was South America, especially Argentina and Brazil. In South America, the German has always enjoyed a good reputation and in both these countries are strong German colonies, in part merged in the native population, speaking Spanish and Portuguese, considering themselves as much a part of the nation as do Americans of German descent.

Little Emigration From Germany

Good reports of their success and the vision of wide countryside where cheap land awaited the plow spurred the would-be settlers. There was a flood of settlers' companies, which eventually became a minor scandal. They were not in a strict sense fraudulent and some of them were aided or at least officially recognized by the South American governments, but they were imperfectly financed, and worked too much in the booster spirit.

The few who overcame the difficulties of getting transportation found themselves in a strange land with prices enormously high. Most of them intended to become farmers or ranchers, but discovered that land was beyond their reach. Their small capital swiftly disappeared, and the local German colonies were much put to it to find them work or send them back. Their reported experiences so discouraged others that emigration overseas is practically at a standstill.

Only 4,000 persons left Germany for overseas during the last 12 months. Most of these left by way of Holland, paying high mark prices for passages rated in guildens, but this handicap was so severe that about 1,000 shipped on the less comfortable Italian lines because of the comparative cheapness of lire. The whole number has been insufficient to make any impression on the statistics of ocean travel.

Meanwhile, the rate of exchange figured in another very considerable German migration. This was of skilled mechanics who sought work in Holland and the Scandinavian countries. Their idea was very shrewd. Even a small saving from wages in foreign coin would, if banked at home and translated into marks, eventually give a man a decent stake, which the not impossible rise of the mark would in time to come make formidable.

Where these hopeful men made their mistake was

swallowed all their pay and that their savings were negligible. On the whole, this experiment, which was in a way a novelty was a failure.

There remained Russia, to which even before the end of the war Germans had turned their eyes. The most considerable settlers' company yet organized operates in its efforts to turn Germans to the east. It has its main office at Leipzig, but penetrates through branches to all parts of the country. It is apparently fostered by the Soviet Government, and seeks two classes of settlers, farmers to cultivate barren acres and, more especially, highly skilled industrial workers.

The Soviets demand that the settler become a Russian citizen, with all that implies in the way of abandonment of the protection of the German Government and the acceptance of communistic conditions which do not sit very well with the thrifty, industrious, acquisitive type of German who wishes to settle.

It is perhaps significant that the German Government tacitly supports this company by putting facilities at its disposal. It is evident that the government would prefer its citizens to be in Russia rather than in countries farther removed.

The influx of Germans into Russia has been relatively small, and the summing up of the whole emigration situation shows that except for a minute fraction, the Germans who were in Germany November 11, 1918, are still there.

The urge to leave, however, becomes constantly more acute. Unemployment is widespread, and emergency measures have so far failed that in some places it has become necessary to remove single men from their jobs after they have worked for a short term of months to permit fathers of families to have employment.

in neglecting to consider the crowded condition of industries in these countries. Some could get no jobs and were forced to return minus their original capital. Others were more fortunate, but soon discovered that high prices of food, of clothing, of housing